

*Compliments of A. Salley.*

Bulletins of the Historical Commission of  
South Carolina.—No. 12

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*Robert W. Gibbs, M.D.  
Columbia, S.C.*

# President Washington's Tour Through South Carolina In 1791

By A. S. SALLEY  
Secretary of the Commission

Printed for the Commission by  
The State Company  
Columbia, S. C.  
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In March, 1791, President Washington left Philadelphia for a tour of the Southern States. He kept a diary of his daily experiences while on the tour. This diary has been printed several times and edited by several different editors. So far as that portion of the diary which relates to South Carolina is concerned, there is need for further editing, and the editings heretofore done also need editing in order to purge them of numerous errors.

In 1860 the diary was published by Charles B. Richardson & Co., of New York, and edited by Benson J. Lossing.

In 1923 the Houghton Mifflin Company brought out *Washington's Southern Tour 1791*, by Archibald Henderson.

This edition of Washington's diary is such a beautiful example of the bookmarker's art and such a storehouse of valuable historical material that it is regrettable that it is marred by so much misinformation.<sup>1</sup>

In 1926 the Houghton Mifflin Company published *The Diaries of George Washington 1748-1799*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, A. M., in four volumes.

Last year when preparations were being made for the George Washington Bi-Centennial the writer was asked to locate upon a map of South Carolina the various points at which Washington halted and which he mentioned in his diary. The map was to be used in an atlas showing Washington's travels over the country. The writer gave much attention to the preparation of the information which he placed on that map. The editor in charge wrote when he received it that it was "magnificent", but when *The George Washington Atlas* was published much of the writer's information had been ignored, old errors had been repeated and new errors had been created.

President Washington reached South Carolina on Wednesday, April 27th and this is what he entered in his diary:

Breakfasted at Willm. Gause's a little out of the direct Road 14 miles—crossed the boundary line between No. & South Carolina abt. half after 12 o'clock which is 10 miles from Gause's—dined at a private house (one Cochran's,) about 2 miles farther—and lodged at Mr. Varen's 14 miles more and 2 miles short of the long bay.—To this house we were directed as a Tavern, but the proprietor of it either did not keep one, or would not acknowledge it—we therefore were entertained (& very kindly) without being able to make compensation.

<sup>1</sup>Archibald Henderson is professor of mathematics at the University of North Carolina, a noted dramatic critic, author of several volumes of biography of George Bernard Shaw and of numerous works bearing on Southern history, but he appears to believe that in history, as in mathematics, he can attain q. e. d. through x. y. z.



The Cochran at whose house President Washington dined was James Cochran, a veteran of the Revolution, and "Mr. Vareen", with whom he lodged, was Jeremiah Vareen, also a veteran of the Revolution.

The entry for Thursday, April 28th, is:

Mr. Vareen piloted us across the Swash (which at high water is impassible, & at times, by the shifting of the Sands is dangerous) on the long Beach of the Ocean; and it being at a proper time of the tide we passed along it with ease and celerity to the place of quitting it, which is estimated 16 miles,—five miles farther we got dinner & fed our horses at a Mr. Pauley's a private house, no public one being on the Road;—and being met on the Road, & kindly invited by a Doctor Flagg to his house, we lodged there; it being about 10 miles from Pauley's & 33 from Vareen's.<sup>1</sup>

The swash referred to was then and still is known as Withers's Swash. The long beach referred to is now the famous Myrtle Beach and Long Bay washes it.

George Pawley, at whose home President Washington dined and got his horses fed, was another veteran of the Revolution. His family had long been one of the conspicuous planter families of Waccamaw Neck, as the strip of very fertile and highly developed country lying between the Waccamaw River and the Atlantic Ocean is called. There was scarcely a section of the United States where the planters were wealthier than on that neck. The writer spelled the name correctly on the map heretofore alluded to, but the map in the *Atlas* gives the erroneous spelling.

It was Dr. Henry Collins Flagg who invited Washington to spend the night at his home. Dr. Flagg had been surgeon of the 1st Regiment, South Carolina Line, Continental Establishment, throughout the Revolution. His home was Brookgreen plantation. He had married, December 5, 1784, Mrs. Rachel (Moore) Allston, widow of Capt. William Allston, an officer in the Revolution, who had died July 1, 1781, and who had owned and developed Brookgreen. It was there that his son Washington, later to become one of the greatest of American artists, was born November 5, 1779, and named for the commander-in-chief of the forces of the United States, the same who was now president of the United States and a guest in the home of his mother and step-father.

<sup>1</sup>Fitzpatrick says that the names Vareen, Pauley and Dr. Flagg do not appear on the Census of 1790. His search was not careful enough. All three are there.



The entry in the diary for Friday, April 29th, was as follows

We left Doctr. Flagg's about 6 o'clock, and arrived at Captn. Wm. Alston's on the Waggamau to Breakfast.

Captn. Alston is a Gentleman of large fortune and esteemed one of the neatest Rice planters in the State of So. Carolina and a proprietor of the most valuable ground for the culture of this article.—His house which is large, new, and elegantly furnished stands on a sand hill, high for the Country, with his Rice fields below; the contrast of which with the lands back of it, and the Sand & piney barrens through which we had passed is scarcely to be conceived.

At Captn. Alston's we were met by General Moultrie, Col<sup>o</sup>. Washington & Mr. Rutledge (son of the present Chief Justice of So. Carolina) who had come out that far to escort me to town.—We dined and lodged at this Gentlemen and Boats being provided we the next mornin

Capt. William Alston, who had also served as a captain in the militia of South Carolina during the Revolution, was a greatgrandson of John Alston who came to South Carolina in 1682. His father, Joseph Allston, was a first cousin of Capt. William Allston, of Brookgreen. His greatgrandfather, the emigrant, had spelled his name with one l, but his sons and grandsons had added another l. Capt. William returned to the original spelling by dropping the additional l. His plantation, which so enthused President Washington, was called Clifton. It was originally a part of the Hobcaw Barony, granted by his associates of the Lords Proprietors to John, Lord Carteret, December 5, 1718. In February, 1730, Lord Carteret sold the barony to John Roberts of Dean's Court in the County of Middlesex for £500. sterling. Roberts subsequently sold the barony to Sir William Baker, Nicholas Linwood, and Brice Fisher and they, in 1765, appointed Paul Trapier and Francis Stuart as their attorneys for the purpose of selling the lands of the barony. On December 12, 1766, 2,412 acres were conveyed to Thomas Mitchell. Mitchell died in 1768, leaving these 2,412 acres to his son Edward, and Edward Mitchell, on March 9, 1785, conveyed 1,206 acres, the northern half, to Capt. Alston who named it Clifton and in the next six years developed it as President Washington has described. Clifton remained in the possession of Capt. Alston and his descendants for over a century.

"General Moultrie" referred to in the diary was Major-General William Moultrie of the Revolution. He was born in Charles



Town in 1729.<sup>30</sup> The register of St. Philip's Parish gives November 23rd. A family record gives November 30th. As the year was before the amendment of the calendar in 1752, eleven days have to be added to whichever of these dates is the correct one. In June, 1775, he was elected by the Provincial Congress colonel of the Second South Carolina Regiment, which in September, 1776, became the 2nd Regiment, South Carolina Line, Continental Establishment. On the 28th of June, 1776, while in command of the unfinished and unnamed fort on Sullivan's Island, which was subsequently named Moultrie in his honor, he defeated and put to flight a British fleet under Sir Peter Parker. He was promoted to brigadier-general, September 16, 1776, and to major-general, October 15, 1782. He served as governor of South Carolina from January, 1785, to January, 1787, and again from December, 1792, to December, 1794. His *Memoirs of the Revolution*, in two volumes (New York, David Longworth), were published in 1802. He died September 27, 1805.

"Col<sup>o</sup>. Washington", who met President Washington at Captain Alston's, was William Washington. His greatgrandfather, John Washington, and George Washington's grandfather, Lawrence Washington, were brothers. His grandfather was also named John Washington and his father was Bailey, of Stafford County, Virginia. Colonel Washington had come to South Carolina in 1780 in command of the 3rd Regiment of Light Dragoons, Continental Establishment, and had done much hard fighting in this state. He had especially distinguished himself at the Battle of the Cowpens, January 17, 1781. In April, 1782, he married Jane Riely Elliott, only daughter and heiress of Charles Elliott, a wealthy planter of St. Paul's Parish, and settled in South Carolina. At the time of George Washington's visit to South Carolina Colonel Washington and his wife owned a handsome home (still standing) at the northwest corner of Church Street and South Battery and a plantation home called Sandy Hill in St. Paul's Parish.

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<sup>30</sup>Henderson says Moultrie was born in England in 1731, but the register of St. Philip's Parish, Charles Town, shows that his parents, Dr. John Moultrie and Lucretia Cooper, were married in Charles Town, April 22, 1728, and that their son William was born as above stated. Henderson also states that he was in the Continental Congress in 1775 and that he was colonel of the "Second Colonial Regiment." He was never in the Continental Congress. He was elected a delegate to that body in 1784, but declined as he had been elected lieutenant-governor. There was never a regiment in South Carolina called Second Colonial.



"Mr. Rutledge" of the diary was Major John Rutledge,<sup>1</sup> eldest son of the Chief-Justice. He was born in Charles Town in 1766. He subsequently arose to the rank of brigadier-general of militia and served three terms in Congress, 1797-1803. He died in 1819.

Saturday, 30th.

Crossed the Waggamau to Georgetown by descending the River three miles—at this place we were recd. under a Salute of Cannon, & by a Company of Infantry handsomely uniformed.—I dined with the Citizens in public; and in the afternoon, was introduced to upwards of 50 ladies who had assembled (at a Tea party) on the occasion.

George Town seems to be in the shade of Charleston—It suffered during the War by the British, having had many of its Houses burnt.—It is situated on a pininsula betwn. the River Waccamaw & Sampton Creek about 15 miles from the Sea—a bar is to be passed, over which not more than 12 feet water can be brot. except at Spring tides; which (tho' the Inhabitants are willing to entertain different ideas,) must ever be a considerable let to its importance; especially if the cut between the Santee & Cooper Rivers, should ever be accomplished.

The Inhabitants of this place (either unwilling or unable) could give no account of the number of Souls in it, but I should not compute them at more than 5 or 600.—Its chief export, Rice.

President Washington committed an error that still persists respecting Georgetown. The town is located between the Black and Sampit rivers. The Waccamaw River joins the Black below the town to form Winyah Bay. Above the town a fork of the Peedee River joins the Black, while another fork thereof joins the Waccamaw. In connection with the diarist's comment on the depth of water on the bar the following statement of George Hunter, sometime Surveyor General of South Carolina, on a map he made in 1730 is pertinent:

At Wineau Bar I sounded y<sup>e</sup> Channel and at Low water neap Tides found 10 foot water. At High Water Spring Tides there rise 16½ feet, and y<sup>e</sup> same water has at Georges Town on Sampit Creek 4 fathom.

The cut between the Santee and Cooper rivers which Washington writes of was the Santee Canal then being built. It was completed in 1800 and served its purpose for over fifty years, without apparently injuring Georgetown.

<sup>1</sup>Fitzpatrick interprets this as "Edward Rutledge." The editor who undertook to improve upon the map which the writer prepared for *The George Washington Atlas* put a cross mark and the name Rutledge near Clifton to "approximate" the place of residence of "Mr. Rutledge". The map editor's error was due to his misconstruction of Washington's words in speaking of his visit to Captain Alston. Just after the mention of Rutledge, Washington wrote: "We dined and lodged at this Gentlemans." Of course he was referring to Captain Alston. Young Rutledge was not yet married; did not live near Clifton and neither he nor any other Rutledge owned an acre in that section.

Henderson confuses this young man with his father in discussing an episode in his life. On page 165 he quotes from the diary of this young man an account of how he refuted a slander of George Washington by an Englishman at a dinner party in England in 1787 and attributes both diary and the performance noted therein to the father.



The diary for Sunday, May 1st, says:

Left Georgetown about 6 o'clock and crossing the Santee Creek<sup>1</sup> at the Town, and the Santee River 12 miles from it, at Lynch's Island, we breakfasted and dined at Mrs. Horry's about 15 miles from Georgetown & lodged at the Plantation of Mr. Manigold about 19 miles farther.

Mrs. Horry, with whom Washington breakfasted and dined, was the widow of Col. Daniel Horry who had commanded a regiment of state dragoons during the first five years of the Revolution. Her maiden name was Harriott Pinckney, and she was the only daughter of Chief-Justice Charles Pinckney and sister of Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Major Thomas Pinckney of the Revolution. She was Col. Horry's second wife. Her home was Hampton plantation, now the property of Archibald Rutledge, the wellknown writer, who is a lineal descendant of Daniel and Harriott (Pinckney) Horry. The lands comprising this plantation were a part of those which became vested, in 1759, in Daniel Horry, son of Daniel Horry and grandson of Elias Horry, one of the Huguenot refugees to South Carolina after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, "by Intermarriage with Judith Serre", daughter of Noah Serré who had acquired by purchase or grant nine tracts aggregating 2653 acres. Daniel and Judith Horry built Hampton soon after their marriage in 1759. Judith died in 1765 and in 1768 Daniel Horry married Harriott Pinckney. Hampton next belonged to their daughter, Harriott Pinckney Horry, who married Frederick Rutledge, son of John Rutledge (1739-1800). Their son Frederick married his cousin, Henrietta Rutledge, daughter of Major Henry Middleton Rutledge, and to them the place next passed. Their son, the late Col. Henry M. Rutledge, father of the present owner, was the next proprietor.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In the diary entry for April 30th Washington called the Sampit River Sampton Creek and the next day, after he had crossed it, he called it Santee Creek. Henderson makes no comment on the different names but himself calls it Santee Creek. *The George Washington Atlas* puts it "Sampton Cr." notwithstanding my correction to Sampit River.

<sup>2</sup>Henderson states that Hampton was built in 1730 "by Mrs. Daniel Horry, the widow of the French Huguenot who came to this country in 1686". While there was a Daniel Horry who came to South Carolina soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes he died very soon after and neither he nor his widow had anything to do with Hampton. Elias Horry, who came from a different section of France, and Margaret Huger were married in 1704, and she predeceased him. They left four sons. The eldest of them was Daniel Horry, who died September 9, 1763, so that his widow could not have built Hampton in 1730. It was his son, Daniel, who married Judith Serre as stated above. Henderson also commits the common error of crediting to Harriott Pinckney's mother, Elizabeth Lucas, "the successful introduction of indigo into South Carolina." The records show that upward of one hundred thousand pounds of indigo were exported from South Carolina annually before Elizabeth Lucas planted one indigo root. That a sixteen year old girl successfully conducted a plantation and succeeded with indigo was glory enough.



The plantation of "Mr. Manigold" (as Washington wrote the name) was the ancient Seewee Barony which had been granted by the Lords Proprietors to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, as one of his concessions as a landgrave, June 22, 1709, and was located on Awendaw Creek. Sir Nathaniel died in 1713 and this tract of 12,000 acres passed to his son Robert, who twice subsequently served as governor of South Carolina. Robert died in 1735, during his second administration, and the Seewee Barony was divided among his three sons, 4,570 acres to Robert, 4,570 acres to Nathaniel, and 2,860 acres to Thomas. Nathaniel died under age and his tract of 4,570 acres was divided between the other two brothers. Robert conveyed his 6,855 acres to Gabriel Manigault, May 8, 1739. At the death of Thomas Johnson his part of the barony, 5,145 acres, passed under his will to his brother Robert who conveyed that also to Gabriel Manigault, March 12, 1763. Gabriel Manigault died in 1781 and left the barony to his two grandsons, Gabriel and Joseph Manigault, sons of his son Peter Manigault who had died in 1773.<sup>1</sup> By a deed of partition between the brothers, December 2, 1788, the barony—by them termed "the barony of Awendaw"—became the property of Joseph. This great tract of land was not a beautiful, well cultivated plantation, like Alston's Clifton, with a handsome home, but was almost entirely pine forest and swamps, devoted principally to raising scrub cattle and razorback hogs. The house on the barony was an unpretentious structure which was never occupied as a home by its owner. He lived in Charleston in one of the handsomest homes in the city, on Meeting Street between what is now Ashmead Place and John Street in Wraggsboro. His brother Gabriel also resided in the city, in another beautiful house which stood at the southeast corner of Meeting and George streets. It has recently been razed by the Standard Oil Company to make room for a filling station—as if to show the contempt of the new rich plutocrats for the evidences of the long existing culture of a people who once dared to play a conspicuous part in the affairs of these United States. Gabriel

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<sup>1</sup>Peter Manigault's mother was Ann Ashby—not Ashley as Henderson has it.



Manigault, who was an architect of fine ability, designed both houses.<sup>1</sup>

The entry in the diary for Monday, May 2nd, is:

Breakfasted at the Country seat of Govr. Pinckney about 18 miles from our lodging place, & then came to the ferry at Haddrel's point, 6 miles further, where I was met by the Recorder of the City, Genl. Pinckney & Edward Rutledge, Esqr. in a 12 oared barge rowed by 12 American Captains of Ships, most elegantly dressed.—There were a great number of other Boats with Gentlemen and ladies in them;—and two Boats with Music; all of whom attended me across, and on the passage were met by a number of others.—As we approached the town a salute with artillery commenced, and at the Wharf I was met by the Governor, the Lt. Governor, the Intendt. of the City; the two Senators of the State, Wardens of the City—Cincinnati, &c. &c. and conducted to the Exchange where they passed by in procession—from thence I was conducted in like manner to my lodgings—after which I dined at the Governors (in what he called a private way) with 15 or 18 Gentlemen.

It may as well in this as in any other place, be observed, that the Country from Wilmington through which the Road passes, is, except in very small spots, much the same as what has already been described; that is to say, sand & pine barrens—with very few inhabitants—we were indeed informed that at some distance from the Road on both sides the land was of a better quality, & thicker settled, but this could only be on the Rivers & larger waters—for a perfect sameness seems to run through all the rest of the Country—on these—especially the swamps and low lands on the Rivers, the Soil is very rich; and productive when reclaimed; but to do this is both laborious and expensive.—The Rice planters have two modes of watering their fields—the first by the tide—the other by reservoirs drawn from the adjacent lands.—The former is best because most certain.—A crop without either is precarious,—because a drought may not only injure, but destroy it.—Two and an half and 3 barrels to the Acre is esteemed a good crop and 8 or 10 Barrels. for each grown hand is very profitable; but some have 12 & 14, whilst 5 or 6 is reckoned the average production of a hand—a barrel contains about 600 weight and the present price is about 10/6 & 11/ Sterg. pr. 100.

The lodgings provided for me in this place were very good, being the furnished house of a Gentleman at present in the Country; but occupied by a person placed there on purpose to accomodate me, & who was paid in the same manner as any other letter of lodgings would have been paid.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Henderson jumps over about forty-five miles of land and water between Hampton, on the Santee, and Charleston, and places "the plantation of Mr. Manigold" on Charleston Neck, six or seven miles above the city, calls it "Marshlands" and presents it to Gabriel Manigault and has his wife, Mrs. Margaret (Izard) Manigault, entertain President Washington there with "all the gracious charm and lavish hospitality so characteristic of the Old South." The estate which many years later was called Marshland—not Marshlands—was never owned by Gabriel Manigault. In 1819 Nathaniel Heyward bought this property from the executors of John Ball, and, upon his death in 1851, it passed, by provision of his will, to his daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Charles Izard Manigault, son of Gabriel Manigault.

<sup>2</sup>Some time before President Washington started on this trip his cousin, Col. William Washington, invited him to be his guest in Charleston. The President replied: "I cannot without involving myself in inconsistency; as I have determined to pursue the same plan in my Southern—as I did in my Eastern visit, which was not to incommode any private family by taking up my quarters with them during my journey. It leaves me unencumbered by engagements, and by a uniform adherence to it, I shall avoid giving umbrage to any, by declining all such invitations."



The "Country seat" of Governor Pinckney was a small estate in Christ Church Parish called Snee Farm—<sup>1</sup>the only instance the writer can recall in records of the period where the term farm was used in the Low-Country. Plantation was the term almost exclusively employed.

Haddrell's Point was the name by which the point on the north side of the Cooper River opposite Charleston was known for many years. The eastern landing of the ferry between Charleston and Christ Church Parish was there. It took its name from a family that long resided in Christ Church Parish. Much of the "Point" is now occupied by the town of Mt. Pleasant.<sup>2</sup>

The Recorder of Charleston was John Bee Holmes. He was born in Charles Town, April 23, 1760; was admitted to the Bar in Charleston in 1783; served as Recorder (police judge), 1786-1792, 1811-1819; died September 5, 1827.

The "Genl. Pinckney" mentioned by Washington was Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, son of Chief-Justice Charles Pinckney and Elizabeth Lucas, his second wife. He was born in Charles Town, February 14, 1745/6; was educated in England at Westminster and Oxford; studied law at the Middle Temple and was called to the English bar, January 27, 1769; was commissioned captain in the 1st South Carolina Regiment (later the 1st Regiment, South Carolina Line, Continental Establishment), June 17, 1775; was promoted to major in November, 1775; to lieutenant-colonel, February 24, 1776; to colonel, September 16, 1776, and was

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<sup>1</sup>Henderson's note on the "Country seat" of Governor Pinckney says it was "called Fee Farm, later 'Snee Farm'." The place was never called Fee Farm. The earliest references to it in Pinckney records are to Snee. The writer possesses the fly-leaf of an old law book that once belonged to Governor Pinckney and on it in the Governor's own handwriting is "Snee Farm 1784", but there are numerous earlier references in letters and other records of the Pinckney family. Fee was a fabrication of someone who did not know the explanation of Snee.

<sup>2</sup>It will be observed by those who keep their mathematics and history separated that Washington gave the distance from Hampton to Manigault's plantation as 19 miles; that from Manigault's to Pinckney's as 18 miles, and from Pinckney's to Haddrell's Point as 6 miles—total 43—which makes it difficult for anyone not a mathematical genius to see how Washington could travel 19 miles from Hampton and reach Marshland on the Neck above Charleston. *The National Geographic Magazine* for January, 1932, issued a map showing Washington's itinerary through South Carolina which took Henderson's absurd mistake seriously and gave Washington's route as going from the Georgetown Road east of Haddrell's Point to a point on Cooper River opposite what subsequently became Marshland, and, after crossing the Cooper there, going down the Neck to Charleston. To have traveled over the route fixed on that map he would have passed over the Wando River and several miles of marsh over which there were no roads, bridges or ferries.



brevetted brigadier-general, November 3, 1783<sup>1</sup>. He was one of the five delegates elected to represent South Carolina in the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States and was one of the four delegates who attended the convention. He was a candidate for president of the United States on the Federalist ticket with Adams in 1800, with the view of being the vice-president in case the Federalist ticket won. In 1804 and 1808 he was the Federalist candidate for president. He died August 16, 1825.

In 1797 President Adams sent General Pinckney, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry as envoys to France to arrange a treaty of friendship and commerce. The Directory refused to receive them, but secret agents of the Directory intimated to them that they would be received if they would agree to lend France six million pounds and to give the members of the Directory fifty thousand pounds for their private use. The envoys answered the first proposal to the effect that the question of a loan would have to be submitted to their government, and diplomatically avoided discussion of the matter of giving the members of the Directory a bribe. At a later interview with Hottinguer (one of the secret agents), he returned to the subject saying "gentlemen, you do not speak to the point, it is money". The envoys replied that they had "spoken to that point very explicitly". Upon being asked what their answer was the envoys replied: "It is no; no; not a sixpence." The account of the envoys was conveyed to Secretary of State Pickering, October 22, 1797, and was transmitted to Congress by President Adams and has been published many times.<sup>2</sup>

Edward Rutledge, who was one of those who met Washington at Haddrell's Point, was a brother of Chief-Justice John Rut-

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<sup>1</sup>Fitzpatrick says that General Pinckney was "Brigadier-general, State troops." South Carolina had three branches of service during the Revolution: the Continental Line, the militia and the State Troops. The latter were state regulars organized in 1781 and paid by the state. They enlisted for ten months and those who served the full term or were killed in action were awarded a bounty in money and Negroes in addition to their regular pay. There were seven of these regiments and General Sumter was the only brigadier they had. After the Revolution Pinckney was made a major-general of militia and in 1798 was appointed a major-general in the United States service when preparations were being made to fight France.

Henderson says he presided over the Senate of South Carolina. He did not. It was his first cousin, Charles Pinckney (1732-1782), who was the first president of that body, which came into being at the election of 1778. Henderson also credits him with having been attorney general of South Carolina, but that was a position he never held.

<sup>2</sup>Fitzpatrick adopts the error of crediting Pinckney with the authorship of "Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute," notwithstanding Pinckney's disclaimer of its authorship. It was offered as a toast at a banquet which Congress gave John Marshall in Philadelphia on his return from France in 1798. According to Gen. Pinckney himself Robert Goodloe Harper, a member of Congress from South Carolina, was its author.



ledge. He was born in Christ Church Parish, November 23, 1749. After preparatory training in schools of South Carolina he was admitted to the Middle Temple, January 12, 1767, and was called to the English bar, July 3, 1772. In January, 1773, he was admitted to the bar of South Carolina. On January 16, 1775, he was elected by the Provincial Congress of South Carolina one of the five delegates to the Continental Congress. On February 16, 1776, he was reelected to the Continental Congress and in July following signed the Declaration of Independence. He served throughout the Revolution, first as a lieutenant and later as a captain in the Charles Town Battalion (militia of South Carolina) of Artillery, and, after giving his parole upon the fall of Charles Town, May 12, 1780, was sent a prisoner of war to St. Augustine. On December 6, 1798, he was elected governor. He died in office, January 23, 1800. In 1790, President Washington offered him the position of Judge of the United States District Court for the District of South Carolina, but he declined it. From Camden on May 24, 1791, President Washington wrote a joint letter to General C. C. Pinckney and Edward Rutledge and offered to either of them the place on the Supreme Court of the United States which had been vacated by John Rutledge who had resigned to accept the place of chief-justice of South Carolina, but both declined the appointment.

The twelve "American Captains" who rowed Washington across Cooper River were Jacob Milligan, Thomas Kean, Charles Crowley, William George Cross, James Rea, John Drinker, Etsell Lawrence, Luke Swain, William Conyers, Jeremiah Dickinson, John Connolly and John Moore, with Capt. Robert Cochran acting as coxswain. Cochran had conducted a shipyard at Charles Town during the Revolution and also acted as Powder Receiver for the state. Crowley had been a lieutenant in the navy of South Carolina. Swain was a pilot of the port during the Revolution. Dickinson had been captain commanding the sloop *Rachel* of the navy of South Carolina during the Revolution. Moore had commanded a floating battery in the harbor in 1778. Lawrence was a shipcarpenter who was several times consulted by the Commissioners of the Navy in 1779. Cross had been an officer of the navy of South Carolina, and at one time after the war was in co-partnership with Crowley. Jacob Milligan had served conspicuously in the navy of South Carolina dur-



ing the Revolution and had been voted a gratuity for his services by the General Assembly.

According to *The City Gazette* the distinguished oarsmen who rowed the distinguished visitor's barge

were uniformly and neatly dressed in light blue silk jackets and round black hats decorated with blue ribbons on which were impressed the arms of South Carolina. During the passage vocal and instrumental music was rendered on the water by the Amateur Society, assisted by a voluntary association of singers, and upwards of forty boats attended, filled with eager spectators.

Stairs were erected at Prioleau's wharf, where the President was received and congratulated by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the State, the intendant and wardens of Charleston, and an unusually large number of citizens, who received the President with shouts of joy and satisfaction. The Charleston Battalion of Artillery fired a salute, the bells of St. Michael's were chimed and the vessels in the harbor displayed their colors.

Charles Pinckney, the governor of South Carolina, who was one of those who met President Washington at the wharf in Charleston, was a son of Col. Charles Pinckney (1732-1782) and Frances Brewton, his wife, and was born October 26, 1757;<sup>1</sup> was educated under Dr. David Oliphant in Charles Town; studied law under his father and at the Middle Temple, London, and was admitted to the bar of South Carolina; served as a captain in the Charles Town Regiment of militia and was captured by the British, when Charles Town was taken in 1780, and sent aboard the prison-ship *Pack Horse*; was released by the general exchange of June, 1781; was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1784,<sup>2</sup> and was reëlected in 1785 and 1786. In 1787 he was elected a delegate, with Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Rutledge, Pierce Butler and Henry Laurens, to the convention which had been called to frame a constitution for the United States, and, upon the assembling of that convention, he submitted a complete plan of a constitution which he had drawn up. According to the notes of James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, who served on the committee which drafted the Constitution which was adopted, *many*<sup>3</sup> of the provisions of Pinckney's draft were incorporated therein. He was elected governor in January, 1789,<sup>4</sup> and in 1790 presided over

<sup>1</sup>Henderson erroneously says 1758. He was elected to the first House of Representatives of South Carolina in 1778, when he was just twenty-one. Henderson also says he was the uncle of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. His father (son of William Pinckney, brother of Chief-Justice Charles) was a first cousin of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

<sup>2</sup>Henderson says he was elected to the Provincial Congress in 1785. The Provincial Congress ceased to exist on March 26, 1776. Thereafter South Carolina was no longer a province of Great Britain but an independent state.

<sup>3</sup>Henderson says *some*.

<sup>4</sup>Henderson has it 1784.



the state constitutional convention; was reëlected governor in January, 1791, for the term ending in December, 1792; was again elected governor in December, 1796, and on December 6, 1798, was elected to the United States Senate to succeed John Hunter, resigned, and to succeed himself for the full term beginning March 4, 1799; resigned in 1801 to go as minister to Spain under appointment of President Jefferson; was again elected governor in December, 1806<sup>1</sup>; was elected to the Congress in 1818, and served from March 4, 1819, to March 3, 1821. He died October 29, 1824.

The lieutenant-governor, who was one of the officials who met Washington at the wharf, was Isaac Holmes. He was a son of Isaac Holmes and Elizabeth Stanyarne, his first wife, and half brother of John Bee Holmes, the Recorder of Charleston. He was born in Charles Town, May 19, 1758.

The intendant of Charleston, who was also one of the officials to meet the President at the wharf, was Arnoldus Vander Horst, the greatgrandson of John Vander Horst who came to South Carolina from Holland with John D'Arssens, Seigneur van Wernhaut, in 1686. He had served in the Revolution as a captain in the Berkeley County Regiment of the militia of South Carolina, and after the fall of the town in 1780 retired to North Carolina where he rendered further service to the cause under direction of Governor Nash. He served as governor of South Carolina from December, 1794, to December, 1796. He died January 11, 1808, aged 54 years, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Michael's Church.

The council consisted of twelve members: Major Ephriam Mitchell, who had been major of the 4th Regiment, Artillery, South Carolina Line, Continental Establishment, Capt. Barnard Beekman, who had served in the same regiment; Dr. Tucker Harris, who had been a Hospital Surgeon, Continental Establishment, Dr. John Ernest Poyas, Capt. Edward North, Capt. William Lee, John Splatt Cripps, Thomas Corbett, Morris, Cole, Brownlee and Robertson.

The two United States Senators referred to by the diarist as at the wharf to meet him were Ralph Izard and Pierce Butler,

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<sup>1</sup>Henderson has it 1804. Henderson also states that he was the "first Governor of the State to advocate establishment of free schools." Free schools have existed in South Carolina since 1706 and governors advocated their establishment or furthering before Charles Pinckney was born and each of the five governors of the *State* before Pinckney's day had rendered them such aid as was in his power.



the first two senators from South Carolina in the Senate. When the terms of the first senators were allotted upon organization of the senate in 1789 Izard drew the full term which expired March 3, 1795, and Butler the short term of four years which expired March 3, 1793. Butler was elected to succeed himself for a full term of six years. He resigned in 1796 and was succeeded by John Hunter who resigned two years later and was succeeded by Charles Pinckney, as heretofore related. Izard was succeeded March 4, 1795, by Jacob Read. Read was succeeded March 4, 1801, by John Ewing Colhoun, who died November 3, 1802, and Pierce Butler was elected to succeed him. He resigned in 1804 and was succeeded by John Gaillard who was reelected for terms beginning March 4, 1807, March 4, 1813, March 4, 1819, and March 4, 1825—five times in all. He died February 26, 1826. He, John C. Calhoun and the present senior senator from South Carolina, Ellison D. Smith, are the only senators who have ever been elected to the senate five times by South Carolina.

The Exchange referred to by President Washington was constructed, for what is now termed a custom-house, before the Revolution. At the close of the Revolution it was acquired by the town and in 1818 was traded to the United States government for the present city hall of Charleston which had been built 1798-1800 for the branch bank of the United States. The national government used it for a custom-house and postoffice until a new custom-house was built and then as a postoffice until the present postoffice was completed about 1896. It was later deeded to the South Carolina Society, Daughters of the American Revolution.

The "lodgings" referred to were in the town house of Judge Thomas Heyward, Jr., one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was born in that part of St. Helena's Parish which later became St. Luke's Parish, July 28, 1746; received his preparatory education in South Carolina and read law at the Middle Temple, London, and was called to the English bar, May 25, 1770. When the Council of Safety, which was the executive department of the Revolutionary government of South Carolina, was organized in June, 1775, he was elected one of its thirteen members. On February 16, 1776, he was elected, with John Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Lynch and



Arthur Middleton, a delegate to the Continental Congress and in July following voted for the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and later signed it. He served throughout the Revolution, first as a lieutenant and then as a captain in the Charles Town Battalion of Artillery—the same that fired the salute when Washington arrived at Charleston—and upon the fall of Charles Town, May 12, 1780, was paroled a prisoner of war, but was later sent to prison at St. Augustine. In 1779 he was elected one of the circuit judges of South Carolina. He was one of the founders of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina in 1785 and was its first president, and while he was so serving the Society induced André Michaux, the famous French botanist, to come to South Carolina to aid in introducing new products of field and forest. Judge Heyward resigned his judgeship in 1789 and actively took up planting on his plantation, White Hall, St. Luke's Parish, and was residing there at the time of Washington's visit to Charleston. His town house, on the west side of Church Street between Tradd and Broad streets, was then occupied by Mrs. Rebecca Jamieson. The town council of Charleston rented it furnished for the week. A housekeeper and servants were employed and installed therein by the council, but Washington appears to have paid the housekeeper for his "lodgings" nevertheless.

President Washington's comments on the condition of the country through which he traveled applied only to the lands adjacent to the public roads. Pine ridges, being high and dry, were selected for roads because naturally better suited for their location than the rich lowlands that were cultivated. Had he been able to visit the homes which he could not see from the road he would have found many of them and he would have found them organized and operated in much the same manner that he observed at Clifton.

The diary for Tuesday, May 3rd, says:

Breakfasted with Mrs. Rutledge (the Lady of the Chief Justice of the State who was on the Circuits) and dined with the Citizens at a public dinr. given by them at the Exchange.

Was visited about 2 o'clock, by a great number of the most respectable ladies of Charleston—the first honor of the kind I had ever experienced and it was as flattering as it was singular.

The "Chief Justice of the State", with whose "Lady" President Washington breakfasted, was John Rutledge, eldest son



of Dr. John Rutledge and Sarah Hext, his wife, who was born in Christ Church Parish in 1739. He was admitted to the Middle Temple, October 11, 1754, and called to English bar, February 9, 1760. He was married, May 1, 1763, to Elizabeth Grimké, daughter of Frederick Grimké. In 1774, 1775 and 1776 he was elected as a delegate from South Carolina to the Continental Congress. On March 26, 1776, when South Carolina had adopted an independent constitution, he was elected president of the independent state and relinquished his seat in the Continental Congress. In 1778, when a new constitution for the state was passed by the General Assembly and presented to President Rutledge for approval he resigned rather than sign the constitution, because it provided for a senate elected by the people to supplant the Legislative Council which had been elected from the membership of the General Assembly. Rawlins Lowndes was elected to succeed him as president. Lowndes' term expired in January, 1779, and the new constitution provided for the name of the new chief executive to be known as governor. Rutledge was chosen as successor, the term being for two years.<sup>1</sup> When his term expired in January, 1781, the British were in control of the State and it was unsafe for the General Assembly to meet and Rutledge held over until January, 1782. At the same session he was elected to the Continental Congress.

In 1784 Rutledge was elected one of the chancellors of the Court of Chancery established in that year. In 1789 President Washington appointed him a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1791 he resigned to accept the chief-justiceship of South Carolina which had just been created. In July, 1795, President Washington appointed him Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, but when the Congress met in December the Senate rejected the appointment. He died July 18, 1800.

The corporation of Charleston (which was then only a town; not being incorporated as a city until 1836) gave the public dinner referred to in the diary. At this dinner President

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<sup>1</sup>Henderson says of Governor Rutledge: "When Charleston was besieged by the British in 1780, he supported Council proposal to make South Carolina neutral during remainder of Revolution." No such proposal was made by anyone during the siege of 1780. In 1779, when Prévost was knocking at the gates of Charles Town, while General Lincoln was marching up in his rear, unknown to Prévost, the Governor and Council, in an effort to delay long enough to trap Prévost, engaged in various discussions as to terms of surrender. Historians who have never examined contemporary material have never realized what Rutledge meant.



Washington offered a toast: "The city and prosperity to it." Whether Washington's good wishes helped or not, Charleston was then enjoying, and continued to enjoy for many years thereafter, prosperity second to no community in the United States.

The entry in the diary for Wednesday, May 4th, is:

Dined with the Members of the Cincinnati, and in the evening went to a very elegant dancing Assembly at the Exchange—At which were 256 elegantly dressed & handsome ladies.

In the forenoon (indeed before breakfast today) I visited and examined the lines of attack & defence of the City and was satisfied that the defence was noble & honorable altho' the measure was undertaken upon wrong principles and impolitic.

The Cincinnati Society's dinner was given in the "long room" of McCrady's Tavern, the proprietor of which—Edward McCrady—was the greatgrandfather of Gen. Edward McCrady, the historian. During the dinner a choir of singers entertained the diners. After dinner speeches followed in response to fifteen toasts and the final touch was a salute by the Charleston Battalion of Artillery, heretofore mentioned. As a social club the organization still exists.

A feature of the attire of the ladies at the ball was that most of them wore ribbons bearing inscriptions expressing their respect and esteem for the guest of honor, such as "Long Life to the President."

The diary entry for Thursday, May 5th, is:

Visited the works of Fort Johnson James' Island, and Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island;—both of which are in Ruins, and scarcely a trace of the latter left—the former quite fallen.

Dined with a very large Company at the Governor's & in the evening went to a Concert at the Exchange at wch. there were at least 400 ladies the number & appearance of wch. exceeded any thing of the kind I had ever seen.

That part of Sullivan's Island upon which the original Fort Moultrie stood has long since been engulfed by the waters of the harbor. The present Fort Moultrie was built by the United States government many years after Washington's visit to the site of the original fort.

Governor Pinckney's house stood about the middle of the first block above the Battery. Its site is now occupied by the Calhoun Mansion, 16 Meeting Street, which was built by the late George W. Williams, merchant and banker, about 1880, and occupied by him until his death about 1900 when it was acquired by his son-in-law, Patrick Calhoun. The dinner began



at 4 o'clock and the principal gentlemen of the town, of the civil, military and clerical professions were included among the guests. A long list of toasts were offered and responded to.

The Exchange was tastefully decorated for the concert in the evening and appropriate devices were displayed in various parts of the hall, the following being one of the most striking:

"With grateful praises of the hero's fame,  
We'll teach our infants' tongues to lisp his name."

*The City Gazette* said next day that the company had been enlivened and dignified by the President's presence; that an "excellent band of music played in the orchestra and were accompanied by the choir of St. Philip's Church."<sup>1</sup>

The entry in the diary for Friday, May 6th, is:

Viewed the town on horseback by riding through most of the principal Streets.

Dined at Majr. Butler's and went to a Ball in the evening at the Governors where was a select Company of ladies.

Some of the ladies who attended Governor Pinckney's ball wore ribbons bearing a couplet.

"Health to Columbia's noblest son,  
Her light and shield—great Washington."

The holiday poets broke into print in Friday's *Gazette*. One wrote eulogy to Washington, but another expended his cleverness on warning:

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<sup>1</sup>On the concert Henderson comments:

"That evening, in the City Hall, was given one of the most brilliant concerts in the history of that justly famous and unique musical and social organization, the St. Cecilia Society. On this occasion the Amateur Society, which had participated in the vocal greetings to Washington upon his arrival, gave their assistance to the St. Cecilia. This Society, even then, had a long and honorable history, having been inaugurated in 1737 by a concert given upon 'Thursday being St. Cecilia's day,' but it was not formally organized until 1762."

The writer has examined the files of the Charleston newspapers issued during Washington's visit and has found nothing in any of them to show that the concert was given by the St. Cecilia and Amateur societies. There are no records of the St. Cecilia Society for the period, all records prior to the Confederate War having been destroyed during the war. O. G. Sonneck, seeking material for his *Early Concert Life in America*, found record of but one concert by the St. Cecilia in 1791, and that had been given March 17th—over six weeks before Washington's visit. He found but one mention of a concert by the Amateur Society and that was held October 20th following.

The benefit concert given for a professional musician in the theatre in Charles Town on St. Cecilia's Day in 1737 had no connection with the organization of the St. Cecilia Society in 1762—twenty-five years later. Many benefit concerts for professional musicians had been given in Charles Town before that concert for Charles Theodore Pachelbel in 1737, and many more were given for various purposes in the next twenty-five years. Mr. Sonneck informed the writer that at the time the St. Cecilia was organized Continental Europe was organizing musical societies and that Charles Town was merely keeping abreast of the time. That is creditable enough and there is no need to claim something not substantiated by the facts.

Henderson quotes the well-known comment on the St. Cecilia Society in the journal of Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Boston, wherein he stated that there was in the orchestra a French first violin who had a salary of 500 guineas a year, and brackets £50 with a question mark. That might seem incredible to one accustomed to Scotch broth, but to a society with annual dues of £3000; initiation fee of £35, to which must be added fines for not accepting office, for not attending meetings, for arrears, etc., it was an easy matter.



To any would-be poetical complimentary correspondent whom it may suit: I beg leave to recommend to your attention, with a little variation, two lines of a much better poet than yourself, which, upon two seconds' reflection, you will easily perceive will admit of a very pertinent application to yourself. And may they have the effect, as they are intended, to silence the squallings of that brat which I presume you dignify with the title of your muse.

"Read the Commandments, friend, and write no further,  
For there 'tis written that thou shalt do no murder."

Pegasus, poor insulted jade,  
Whom every witling strives to lade  
With cumbrous loads of uncouth rhyme,  
Words which God never meant should chime,  
Prayed for a truce, I heard the prayer,  
And now, in solemn accents, swear—  
No more my themes in verse shall glow;  
No more my words in numbers flow;  
But simply prose henceforth shall tell  
The friend I love what joys I feel.

On Saturday, May 7th, the diary entry is:

Before break I visited the Orphan House at which there were one hundred & seven boys & girls—This appears to be a charitable institution and under good management.—I also viewed the City from the balcony of ——— Church from whence the whole is seen in one view and to advantage, the Gardens & green trees which are interspersed adding much to the beauty of the prospect.

Charleston stands on a Pininsular between the Ashley & Cooper Rivers and contains about 1600 dwelling houses and nearly 16,000 Souls of which about 8000 are white—It lies low with unpaved streets (except the footways) of sand.—There are a number of very good houses of Brick & wood but most of the latter—The Inhabitants are wealthy,—Gay—& hospitable; appear happy and satisfied with the Genl. Government. A cut is much talked off between the Ashley & Santee Rivers but it would seem I think, as if the accomplishment of the measure was not very near—It would be a great thing for Charleston if it could be effected.—The principal exports from this place is Rice, Indigo, and Tobacco; of the last from 5 to 8000 Hhds. have been exported, and of the first from 80 to 120,000 Barrels.

The entry for Sunday, May 8th, is:

Went to Crowded Churches in the morning & afternoon. to ——— in the morning & ——— in the afternoon.

Dined with General Moultrie.

The church which President Washington attended in the morning, and which he had forgotten the name of, was St. Michael's. When St. Michael's was built a pew was set apart for the governor of the province. It was a large rectangular pew near the chancel. After the Declaration of Independence the governors of the state continued to use the pew. President Washington was seated in the governor's pew. In the early spring of 1862 a Confederate general in a well-worn uniform appeared at the door of St. Michael's. The sexton was a most



respectable old man of the keenest powers of discernment. He knew at once that the stranger was a great man and, without a suggestion from any source but his own intuition, he straightway ushered the stranger into the governor's pew. The visitor was Gen. Robert E. Lee, then engaged in service on the coast of South Carolina.

The last governor to officially occupy the governor's pew was Governor Arnoldus Vander Horst, who served as governor from 1794 to 1796. As the seat of government had been moved from Charleston to Columbia in 1790, it was no longer appropriate to reserve a pew in St. Michael's for the exclusive use of the governor of the state and the vestry decided to sell the pew. It was bought by Governor Vander Horst, a citizen of Charleston, and it has remained in the Vander Horst family to this day.

The other church attended by Washington, the name of which he had also forgotten when writing in his diary, was St. Philip's.

The next entry in the diary was for Monday, May 9th:

At six o'clock I recommenced my journey for Savanna; attended by a Corps of the Cincinnati and most of the principal Gentlemen of the City as far as the bridge over Ashley River, where we breakfasted, and proceeded to Col<sup>d</sup>. W. Washington's at Sandy-hill with a select party of particular friends—distant from Charleston 28 miles.

Sandy Hill was formerly the property of Charles Elliott whose daughter, Jane Riely Elliott, in 1782, married Col. William Washington. Just to the west of Rantowle's Creek, headwaters of Stono River, the road from Charleston forks. To the left is the paved road which goes by the site of Jacksonborough<sup>1</sup> and on to Savannah. To the right the road goes straight to Parker's Ferry on the Edisto, now abandoned. About ten miles beyond the bridge another road crosses the Parker's Ferry Road from northwest to southeast. The southern extension of this road joins what was then the Jacksonborough Road, now the Coastal Highway. Sandy Hill is on this connecting road only a mile or two south of the Parker's Ferry Road.<sup>2</sup>

The entry for Tuesday, May 10th is:

Took leave of all my friends and attendants at this place (except General Moultrie & Majr. Butler the last of whom intended to accompany me to Savanna, and the other to Purisburgh, at which I was to be met by Boats,) & breakfasting at Judge Bee's 12 miles from Sandy Hill, lodged at Mr. Obrian Smith's 18 or 20 further on.

<sup>1</sup>The present Jacksonboro is about a mile from the site of the old town.

<sup>2</sup>The editor of *The George Washington Atlas* ignored the location which the writer fixed for Sandy Hill and placed it on the Coastal Highway.



Judge Thomas Bee's plantation, where Washington breakfasted, was on the Jacksonborough Road, now the Coastal Highway. To reach it the President's party had to take the southern extension of the cross road connecting the Parker's Ferry and Jacksonborough roads and travel three or four miles.

O'Brien Smith, at whose house Washington spent the night, was an Irishman who came to South Carolina after the Revolution and was naturalized as a citizen of the state, at Charleston, by Judge Ædanus Burke, July 31, 1784. He and Judge Burke became friends and not even death parted them, as Judge Burke, who died first, was buried in O'Brien Smith's lot in the graveyard of the chapel of ease of St. Bartholomew's Parish, on the Parker's Ferry Road, a few miles west of the old ferry site. Smith married, at Ashepoo, in November, 1786, Martha Skirving, daughter of James Skirving. His home was near the Ashepoo River some miles off the road from Jacksonborough to Pocotaligo. He served in Congress from March 4, 1805, to March 3, 1807. He died April 11, 1811, aged 55 years.

The diary entry for Wednesday, May 11th, is:

After an early breakfast at Mr. Smiths we road 20 miles to a place called Pokitellieo where a dinner was provided by the Parishoners of Prince William for my reception, and an address from them was presented and answered.—After dinner we proceeded 16 miles farther to Judge Hayward's where we lodged, & as also at Mr. Smith's were kindly and hospitably entertained.—My Going to Col<sup>o</sup>. Washington's is to be ascribed to motives of friendship & relationship; but to Mr. Smith's & Judge Haywards to those of necessity; their being no public houses on the Road and my distance to get to these private ones increased at least 10 or 12 miles between Charleston and Savanna.

Pocotaligo was originally a town of the Yamasee Indians. White traders established homes in the town before 1710. When the Yamasees rebelled in 1715 they killed most of the whites residing in their midst. After the Yamasees were driven out of South Carolina Pocotaligo became a white settlement. It was located at the fork of the road to Beaufort and that to Savannah and on Pocotaligo River in Prince William's Parish. It was the scene of fighting during both the Revolution and the Confederate war. It is now little more than a memory.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lossing spells the name correctly but states that it was on Combahee River. Henderson and Fitzpatrick make the same mistake. It is four or five miles from the Combahee. *The George Washington Atlas* retains Washington's spelling despite the correction furnished by the writer. Henderson gives Pocotaligo as a "town on the Combahee River, York District", and Fitzpatrick adopts Henderson's absurd error. York District was not established until 1798. It was in the northeastern part of the state. Pocotaligo was in Beaufort District in the southwestern corner of the state—over two hundred miles away.



The entry for Thursday, May 12th, is:

By five o'clock we set out from Judge Hayward's, and road to Purisburgh 22 miles to breakfast.

At that place I was met by Messrs. Jones, Col<sup>o</sup>. Habersham, Mr. Jno. Houston, Genl. McIntosh and Mr. Clay, a Comee. from the City of Savanna to conduct me thither.

At Purisburgh I parted with Genl. Moultrie.

"Judge Hayward", at whose home Washington "lodged", was the same Thomas Heyward, Jr., whose town house he had occupied during his visit to Charles Town. Judge Heyward's home, White Hall plantation, was on Hazzard's Branch, St. Luke's Parish. His father, Col. Daniel Heyward, had resided on a neighboring plantation called Old House, and the family graveyard, surrounded by a brick wall, was on that plantation. When Judge Heyward died, March 6, 1809, he was buried there and his family erected a handsome stone over his grave. A tree fell on and crushed the stone some years ago, and in 1920 the state of South Carolina erected a handsome monument in its place.

Purrysburgh, where Washington embarked on the Savannah River for Savannah, was founded in 1732 by Jean Pierre Purry, a Swiss promoter who brought many Swiss and German settlers to South Carolina under contract with the British government.

From May 12th to May 20th Washington visited Savannah, Waynesboro and Augusta. His diary for Saturday, May 21st, says:

Left Augusta about 6 o'clock, and takg. leave of the Governor & principal Gentlemen of the place at the bridge over Savanna River, where they had assembied for the purpose, I proceeded in Company with Col<sup>o</sup>s. Hampton & Taylor, & Mr. Lithgow a committee from Columbia, (who had come on to meet & conduct me to that place) & a Mr. Jameson from the Village of Granby on my Rout.

Dined at a house about 20 miles from Augusta and lodged at one Odem, about 20 miles farther.

Col. Wade Hampton, one of the committee that met Washington in Augusta, was a native of Virginia who came with his parents to South Carolina about 1770 and settled on Tyger River in what is now Spartanburg County. During the Revolution he became a very daring and successful leader. In June, 1781, General Sumter obtained permission from Governor Rutledge to raise a brigade of State Troops composed of three regiments, soon raised to five. One of these was commanded by Wade Hampton. In 1776 his parents were murdered by Cherokee Indians. At the close of the war he settled in the fork of the



Congaree and Wateree rivers where he married Mrs. Martha (Goodwyn) Howell, widow of Malachi Howell. She soon died and he married Harriet Flud and, after her death, Mary Cantey. He served as a major-general in the United States Army during the War of 1812. He died February 4, 1835, aged 83, and is buried in the graveyard of Trinity Church, Columbia.

Col. Thomas Taylor, another of the committee, was born in Amelia County, Virginia, September 10, 1743. With his parents he came to the fork between the Congaree and Wateree rivers in 1749. He rendered distinguished services during the Revolution as a colonel of militia. His home plantation was sold to the state and a considerable part of Columbia occupies its site. He is, therefore, often referred to as the "father of Columbia." He died November 16, 1833, at the age of 90.

The third member of the committee was Robert Lythgoe, of Columbia.

The house where Washington's party dined was a tavern called Pine House, at the fork of the road leading to Edgefield and that continuing on to Columbia. The site has been marked with a granite boulder by a local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Odom's house was on the Ridge near the present town of Ridge Spring.

The entry on the diary for Sunday, May 22nd:

Rode about 21 miles to breakfast, and passing through the village of Granby just below the falls in the Congaree (which was passed in a flat bottomed boat at a Rope ferry,) I lodged at Columbia, the newly adopted Seat of the Government of South Carolina about 3 miles from it, on the No. side of the River, and 27 from my breakfasting stage.

The whole Road from Augusta to Columbia is a pine barren of the worst sort, being hilly as well as poor.—This circumstance added to the distance, length of the stages, want of water and heat of the day, foundered one of my horses very badly.

Beyond Granby 4 miles I was met by sev'l. Gentlemen of that place & Wynnborough; and on the banks of the River on the No. side by a number of others, who escorted me to Columbia.

The breakfast stop must have been about the present site of Batesburg-Leesville as Lee's Stage Tavern was located there before the towns grew up.

The once flourishing town of Granby, at the time of Washington's visit the seat of Lexington County, Orangeburgh District, and later the seat of Lexington District until the district seat was changed to the town of Lexington about 1820, is now but a memory, there being nothing to show that it ever existed ex-



cept three graveyards and a monument erected by the Columbia Committee of the South Carolina Society, Colonial Dames of America, to mark its site.<sup>1</sup>

It is not known what house Washington "lodged" in in Columbia. The writers of reminiscences of early Columbia are all silent on the subject. It is quite certain that it has not survived, as the business section of that day was totally destroyed by Sherman's army.

Monday, May 23rd.

Dined at a public dinner in the State house with a number of Gentlemen & Ladies of the Town of Columbia, & Country round about to the amt. of more than 150, of which 50 or 60 were of the latter.

Tuesday, May 24th.

The condition of my foundered horse obliged me to remain at this place, contrary to my intention, this day also.

Columbia is laid out upon a large scale; but in my opinion, had better been placed on the River below the falls.—It is now an uncleared wood, with very few houses in it, and those all wooden ones—The State House (which is also of wood) is a large and commodious building, but unfinished—The Town is on dry, but cannot be called high ground, and though surrounded by Piney & Sandy land is, itself, good—The State house is near two miles from the River, at the confluence of the Broad & Saluda.—From Granby the River is navigable for Craft which will, when the River is a little swelled, carry 3000 bushels of Grain—when at its usual heighth less, and always some.—The River from hence to the Wateree below which it takes the name of the Santee is very crooked; it being, according to the computed distance near 400 miles—Columbia from Charleston is 130 miles.

Columbia was established by an Act of the General Assembly of South Carolina, ratified March 22, 1786, and made the seat of government of South Carolina. The State House was ready for occupancy by 1790 and the constitutional convention of that year met there. In January, 1791, the General Assembly met there for its first session in the new capital. The State House was designed by James Hoban, of Charleston, who later designed the White House in Washington. The two buildings bore similar architectural characteristics. The State House was burned by Sherman's men, February 17, 1865.<sup>2</sup>

Wednesday, May 25th.

Set out at 4 o'clock for Camden—(the foundered horse being led slowly on)—breakfasted at an indifferent house 22 miles from the town, (the

<sup>1</sup>Henderson suggests that "Mr. Jameson was probably the Mayor of Granby." Granby had no mayor. Charleston was at that time the only incorporated town in South Carolina.

<sup>2</sup>Henderson quotes from some unnamed source that Washington "dined in private" on the 24th, and he guesses "probably at the home of Commodore Alexander Gillon." Gillon's home was about twenty-five miles from Columbia in St. Matthew's Parish.



first we came to) and reached Camden about two o'clock, 14 miles further, when an address was recd. & answered.—Dined (late with a number of Gentlemen & Ladies at a public dinner.—The Road from Columbia to Camden, excepting a mile or two at each place, goes over the most miserable pine barren I ever saw, being quite a white sand, & very hilly.—On the Wateree within a mile & half of which the town stands the lands are very good,—they Culture Corn, Tobacco & Indigo.—Vessels carrying 50 or 60 Hhds. of Tobo. come up to the Ferry at this place at which there is a Tobacco Whare-house.

Thursday, May 26th.

After viewing the british works about Camden I set out for Charlotte—on my way—two miles from Town—I examined the ground on wch. Genl. Green & Lord Rawdon had their action.—The ground had but just been taken by the former—was well chosen—but he not well established in it before he was attacked; which by capturing a Videt was, in some measure by surprise—Six miles further on I came to the ground where Genl. Gates & Lord Cornwallis had their Engagement wch. terminated so unfavourably for the former.—As this was a night meeting of both Armies on their march, & altogether unexpected each formed on the ground they met without any advantage in it on either side it being level & open.—Had Genl. Gates been  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile further advanced, an impenetrable Swamp would have prevented the attack which was made on him by the British Army, and afforded him time to have formed his own plans; but having no information of Lord Cornwallis's designs, and perhaps not being apprised of this advantage it was not seized by him.

Camden is a small place with appearances of some new buildings.—It was much injured by the British whilst in their possession.

After halting at one Sutton's 14 m. from Camden I lodged at James Ingrams 12 miles farther.

The "ground" on which Greene and Rawden met, April 25, 1781, was Hobkirk Hill, and the battle has ever since borne that name. The road then traveled to reach Charlotte was not the road now paved. It veers to the left a few miles north of the Camden of today and meets the present paved road at the town of Heath Springs. The action fought between Gates and Cornwallis, August 16, 1780, is often referred to as the Battle of Camden although the site of it is seven or eight miles from Camden, as shown by the diary. American accounts also refer to it as the Battle of Sanders's Creek, while British accounts usually term it the Battle of Gum Swamp. Gates's forces were half a mile north of Gum Swamp which flows into Sanders's Creek, from the north, while Cornwallis's army had crossed Gum Swamp, as indicated in the diary.

The Sutton, at whose house Washington "halted", was Jasper Sutton who had settled in that section about 1756. He was the step-father of John and James Chesnut. He had been one of the leaders among the revolutionists in his section.

James Ingram's home was at the Hanging Rock where one of the British posts had been located in 1780-1781, and where



Major Davie had defeated a party of British militia, August 1, 1780, and Col. Sumter had punished the troops of the post on the 8th of the same month. Descendants of James Ingram still own the place. Sherman's troops burned the house in which Washington "lodged", but the original well of the old home is still there, being used by a family of Negro farmhands.

Friday, May 27th.

Left Ingrams about 4 o'clock, and breakfasting at one Barr's 18 miles distant lodged at Majr. Crawford's 8 miles farther—About 2 miles from this place I came to the Corner where the No. Carolina line comes to the Rd.—from whence the Road is the boundary for 12 miles more.—At Majr. Crawford's I was met by some of the chiefs of the Catawba nation who seemed to be under apprehension that some attempts were making, or would be made to deprive them of part of the 40,000 Acres wh. was secured to them by Treaty and wh. is bounded by this Road.

Barr's, where Washington got breakfast, was a tavern long kept by Nathan Barr just north of the present town of Lancaster. He had served in the Revolution as a lieutenant in Capt. Robert Montgomery's company of Joseph Kershaw's regiment of the militia of South Carolina.

"Majr. Crawford" was Major Robert Crawford whose title had been acquired by much effective service in the militia of South Carolina during the Revolution. His plantation consisted of 620 acres extending northward from Waxhaw Creek along the road which Washington traveled, which was an old ante-Revolutionary post road from Charles Town to Salisbury, N. C. This road was not the boundary line between the Carolinas for twelve miles, as stated by Washington, but for eight miles, from the "Corner" mentioned to its intersection with the southern boundary of the Catawba Nation. It continued through the Nation for several miles more before crossing the line into North Carolina. It was never a boundary of the Catawba Nation. By a conventional agreement with North Carolina in 1808 it ceased to be the boundary between the two states for the eight miles described. The new line agreed upon was a straight line connecting the tree marked "Corner" referred to and the tree marked southeastern corner of the Catawba Nation, which, upon survey by commissioners on the part of the two states in 1813, proved to be exactly eight miles. At the "Corner" mentioned by Washington a stone was erected, which is still there, bearing the inscription N. C., on the north side; S. C., on the south side, and A. D. 1813, on the west side. For some years a filling station



was operated on the north side of the stone. More recently the road from Lancaster to Charlotte has been paved to the North Carolina line and so changed as not to run close to the state line, as the old road runs.

The treaty by which the lands of the Catawba Indians were secured to them was made at Augusta, Georgia, the latter part of 1763 in a congress of the governors of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, with John Stuart, His Majesty's Indian Agent for the Southern Provinces of North America, and the Creek, Cherokee, Catawba, Chickasaw and Choctaw nations. They agreed to accept a reservation fifteen miles square along the Catawba River. It was immediately laid out for them by Samuel Wyly, a deputy surveyor for the province of South Carolina. That gave the Catawbas 225 square miles or 144,000 acres—not 40,000 as Washington has it. The Catawbas had probably been told that since the state had entered the federal union the United States government might have control over their lands, as the general government did assume control over all Indian lands not situated within the bounds of any of the original thirteen states that formed the Union. Later the Congress passed an act disclaiming any wardship over the several nations of Indians living within the borders of the thirteen states that originally formed the United States. The Catawbas soon began to lease out their lands for long terms to white settlers. The General Assembly then created a commission to protect them against frauds from lessees, making a lease invalid unless approved by the commissioners. Nevertheless, the Indians leased out every foot of land that had been reserved for them. The state then bought their equity in the lands and granted them to the lessees and for ninety years has been caring for the remnant of the Catawbas on a tract of 620 acres of state owned land.

Major Crawford's home was Washington's last stop in South Carolina. Major Crawford and his brothers, Joseph and James, had come to that section, known as the Waxhaws because the Waxhaw Indians had occupied it before they merged with the Catawbas, and when the whites moved in they referred to their neighborhood simply as the Waxhaws instead of the lands of the Waxhaws. <sup>from Pennsylvania.</sup> Crawford's place had originally been granted to Andrew Pickens, April 13, 1752, by Governor Johnston of North Carolina in the belief that it lay in North Caro-



lina. By his will, dated November 4, 1756, Pickens bequeathed it to his sons, Andrew (later a distinguished officer of the Revolution) and Joseph, and they, by deed dated March 4, 1763, sold it to Robert and Joseph Crawford. Upon the death of Joseph several years later the entire property became Robert's. The boundary line adjustment in 1772 showed the property to be in South Carolina and Crawford took out a new grant in South Carolina.

Adjoining Robert Crawford's plantation was that "whereon James Crawford lived" in 1767 when Andrew Jackson, one of Washington's successors in the presidential office, was born and on which Jackson has stated that he was born. The road which Washington traveled passed near the house. The site has been marked with a granite boulder by the Daughters of the American Revolution, of the Catawba Chapter, of Rock Hill.